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462 She could not avoid this obligation of ancient custom without serious disadvantage to her family. This brings her into definite contrast with the Selk'nam woman (Vol. I, 288). No matter how faithfully and abundantly the man provides his family with meat from the indigenous animals hunted, the woman, through her special gathering activities, must give her family all those products of nature to which her husband and children are entitled by rights of custom. Under no pretext could a woman consciously avoid this duty. If she were generally lazy in this pursuit or even
● [558] occasionally negligent, she could expect to be severely criticized by her own husband and held in serious contempt by the whole neighborhood.

462 593 Precisely because there must be a woman in the economic activity of the individual family, husband and children are absolutely dependent upon her. This relationship alone explains the favorable and influential position that she enjoys in her family circle. How much she actually accomplishes /539/ and to what extent she is able, by herself, to keep her family alive become evident when her husband is sick or when she is widowed. Then the entire responsibility of food-seeking rests on her shoulders alone, and she nevertheless provides so well that no one suffers deprivation.

462 Fortunately, in her activity as food-gatherer she has access not only to an abundant supply of one kind, but even to a not inconsiderable choice. She comes home with this and that, bringing a welcome variety into the monotonous meat diet. She can, of course, take from nature only what the latter voluntarily produces and as it is offered, for the harsh climate near the dreaded Cape Horn permits neither agriculture nor animal husbandry (263). The woman herself has invented or learned to make

263. An older account (VSA:XII, 81; 1866) says briefly that the natives "do not till the ground, and have no cattle, nor horses, nor sheep, nor goats in their country" /cited in English/. The experiences of the Mission Scientifique, which Hyades (g):6 describes (p. 32 /untranslated/), show that gardening does not pay there.

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593 837 586 found her way back to her husband after an absence of three months and was taken in again by him.

pregnant by her lover -- this occurred in the extremely rare case where she was still young and her lawful husband was old -- the husband sent the adulteress irrevocably back to her lover and definitely separated from her.

593 837 If a wife catches her husband philandering, she usually has no alternative, but to overcome the humiliation silently. A spirited woman will make a noisy scene, scold the sinner, and expose his shameful deed to others, which wounds him more than a beating (90). The relatives of the wife would not dare beat the

90. "The adultery of the husband is not punished, except by the jealous scenes of his wife" /translated from French/.

faithless one; they do no more than to advise her to leave him. Sometimes a very hurt wife has come to blows with her errant husband, if she and another wife in the same hut were both betrayed by their common husband (01).

91. Spegazzini (a):166 reports having seen an Indian "completely paralyzed as a result of a beating which his wives gave him because of this kind of misdeed" /translated from Spanish/.

837 ● 558 We lack evidence to determine definitely the number of cases of marital infidelity, since every Yamana makes a serious effort /686/ to keep his lapses strictly secret. The fact is, however, according to Gusinde (l):168, that "among the Yamana this shortcoming was more frequent than among the other two Fuegian tribes." There is no doubt, however, that everyone who is known to have erred in this respect experiences perceptible injury to his honor (92).

92. According to Hyades' (q):378 way of

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expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrespect" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

548 Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q):239, 378 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertions" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is ap-

93. In Outes (g):59, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

proved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

836 Sexual morality is quite generally esteemed, and this,
867 naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scantier. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them ceaselessly with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q):378 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

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586 or that mistreatment of the woman begins immediately among young married couples? The circle of relatives of every married
586 person sees to it that a marriage continues, for they feel responsi-
602 ble for his assured sustenance which is practically impossible or unsuitable outside of marriage, except in the case of elderly people. The woman who has been divorced through her own fault is, to begin with, a burden to her relatives, less because of her maintenance than because of the damaged reputation of the entire circle of relatives and because of the worry about her children. This explains why the relatives almost always try to settle a threatened relationship or to mend a broken marriage, even when the wife has been mistreated. The children are divided up according to the wish and intention of the spouses; either they remain with the mother if the man runs away, and vice versa, or some relatives take pity on the youngsters until the parents have returned to an ordered life.
[558] A person who through his own fault has dissolved a marriage never enjoys a good reputation.

586 These considerations have always tended to prevent lighthearted attempts at divorce. We do not have definite figures, but a man has more often run away from his wife than a woman from her husband; consideration for the children was a factor in this situation.

6. Celibacy

581 We have repeatedly pointed out that the economy of the Yamana basically prohibits a lifelong unmarried state, and that public opinion does not grant an individual full social standing unless he is married (104). Each of the two sexes has duties which can be

> 104. The Yamana find it incomprehensible, solely on the basis of the conduct of life, how Europeans can live unmarried for a lifetime and maintain themselves. They are regarded "as enigmas," as Hyades (q):377 expresses it.

fulfilled only through marriage. At marriageable age the young people are told in plain words that they may no longer put off a

861 558 /752/ Even the best human arrangements sometimes fail, not, however, because they themselves are faulty. If there have actually been a few failures in training, the system itself is not immediately responsible, but rather the unfortunate nature of the child or the detrimental influence of outside forces. Calderon, who, on account of his unfortunate nature, disregards the tried and true principles, is probably the best example of how far a person can deviate from the ideal of the forefathers. He thinks he is better than other men and enjoys many advantages because he is Fred Lawrence's brother-in-law. He therefore disregards the warnings and advice of well-meaning fellow-tribesmen. The consequence is his offensive laziness, which often causes his wife and children to suffer hunger; if he is irritated and in a bad humor, as he often is, he beats them without sufficient reason; usually he lacks the most essential implements, and the ones he has are not in order. We must really regard his two boys as spoiled children. They lounge about among other people, are impudent and rude, very unkempt in appearance, and never available to help anyone. How often have upright elders expressed their regret over this negligent family and said again and again: "In former times no man would have been allowed to become so negligent; at least his wife and children would have been taken away from him and put in better circumstances!"

177 558 861 The demoralizing influence of degenerate Europeans has brought several women into disgrace (p. 363 /untranslated/). To understand this we must realize that these unfortunate persons are no longer steadied and warned by the tribe as a whole, which must be regarded as already disintegrated. Today they have no possibility of marrying again, and the constant enticing temptation finally breaks down the last resistance of their honest sentiments. It would be wrong to blame the child-rearing principles themselves, for in contrast to these very few delinquencies, one can point to the virtuousness and soundness of by far the greater majority of the people as a whole. Missionaries, as well as many 861 travelers, speak of the most pleasant surprises and gratifying observations. I myself have learned to appreciate many of them as quite superior human beings and as sterling, reliable persons; I even sincerely love a few of them as true, valuable friends. This is the result of the influence of others in training them and of

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431 It is one of the inescapable obligations of every Yamana to
576 come now and then with a gift for someone. Anyone who neglected this beyond a certain time would inevitably acquire a bad reputation. It is just as much a matter of course for the recipient to respond to the attention paid him, not immediately, to be sure, but within a certain time, with a gift of equal value. No one would demand this, but one does not forget who owes him a return gift. This gift, no matter who has given it, is critically evaluated.
● [559] Woe to the one who has behaved shabbily, that is to say, who has given insignificant, useless things in return! He is soon known far and wide as selfish and stingy. Someone who gives a person a valuable or rare present usually puts him in an embarrassing situation, for then some equivalent is expected of him which he usually does not have on hand. Actually, everyone would prefer not to receive special gifts from the start.

431 It is very significant that, according to Koppers (d):194, the Yamana language "scarcely has an actual term meaning 'to ask for gifts,' but all the more terms for 'expecting gifts.'" BD:71 mentions ūăgūtăna, "to expect as a man does gifts when visiting his relations who have much blubber" /cited in English/. Still other words express "not to give" and "to give no more." The conduct of a selfish, stingy person is described with the verb tuĭagăna, "to not take, bring, eat, show any food or other things in the sight or presence of friends lest they ask one to give them a part; tuĭagangămata, to be, act stingily by not letting others see one bring or use supplies of any kind and thus abstain from giving them a share" /cited in English/ (BD:572). The word atăgu, "a friendship formed between two persons, accompanied with exchange of gifts" /cited in English/ (BD:33), means to promote a favorable mutual relationship by means of gifts.

431 As a rule, the giver does not pay any attention to the needs
576 or wishes of the one to whom he gives gifts; rather, he gives him what he himself can easily do without. This increases the embarrassment of the recipient still more. Nevertheless, he must accept the gift with a certain show of satisfaction and with a certain amount of hypocritical pleasure. To refuse it would be the equivalent of a bad insult and public humiliation (396). Also, it

396. In this connection Bridges (a):209 has

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674 the circumstances under which the Indian mentioned had filched the little knife unnoticed and probably immediately swallowed it in order to remain undetected.

685 The high degree of sensitivity of the Yamana is sufficient to explain why they seriously punish a thief. Thievish actions by one
• 558 of their people affects them very painfully and unpleasantly, even
626 if they themselves are not harmed by it. The thief is generally despised, and even after many years of irreproachable conduct, he rarely succeeds in improving his reputation. Only in exceptional cases is the thief given a few blows by the injured owner (402).

402. Only Dabbene (b):198 mentions that "the thief is castigated when he is discovered" /translated from Spanish/.

In case of aggravating circumstances, a theft may even lead to a dispute involving several families. In general the Yamana avoid associating with a thief or they turn away from him with unmistakable /984/ aversion, so that, excluded from the society of his nearest fellow-tribesmen, he stands alone (403). This punishment

403. Darwin (d):243 evidently met such an ostracized individual in Goeree Road near Lennox Island. "The man evidently lived by himself and York Minster said he was a bad man who had probably stolen something."

of being ignored and ostracized is more effective than scoldings and whippings.

673 The extent to which the Yamana abhor a tendency to steal
577 can be surmized from their urgent warnings to young people, as well as from their many expressions and linguistic subtleties in the designations for stealing. Koppen (d):189 took most of the expressions from BD. "There are words for thief, stealing, robbing. Furthermore for: to cause theft, to accuse of theft, to punish it. Also, however: to return stolen goods, to steal no